

TRANSLATION OF ALDE MEMO TYPE PREPARED BY KEDIA

Geneva 28th April 1945

Sir:

In referring to the discussion we had on April 27th I would like to set down in this aide memoire the principal points which I exposed.

The principal question which dominates the international situation today is the determination of Stalin to emerge as sole beneficiary from this war which has been fought with so much sacrifice by the Allies.

The Western democracies will be committing a very grave error which may cost them the total loss of Europe, Asia and even Africa if they regard Stalin simply as a Russian statesman. If that were the case he would be satisfied with the enormous gains which this war have brought him in Eastern Europe, the Balkans, and in Asia.

But the Allies must know Stalin; know his aims, and his methods of fighting as we know them in order to understand that Stalin is not just a Russian statesman. He makes use of Russia and flatters her imperialist sentiments only in order to introduce communism and thereby his own personal power wherever he can.

This denaturalized Georgian, exiled from his country, now dictator of Russia, has nothing to lose and everything to gain. Intelligent, and above all cunning, with a willpower of iron, he knows what he wants and will endeavor to arrive at his ends without retreating before any obstacles.

His aims today are no longer the defeat of Nazi Germany, a fact which is already practically accomplished, but the expulsion of the Anglo-Saxons in Europe, Asia, and wherever else he can. In addition to his legendary cunning and his iron will, he possesses throughout Europe and Asia armies of discontented people and fifth columns. The ranks of these fifth columns are being swelled in proportions with Stalin's advance through Europe under the halo of a Liberator.

In the face of this grave danger which threatens the world the democracies must face Stalin without a day's delay with an active and tenacious policy. If the democracies wish to avoid committing suicide they must prepare a cordon and organize the people on this side of the barricade before the explosion of the inevitable armed conflict. The first problem to be solved on this side of the barricade on the part of the democracies is the German problem. The whole of Stalin's policy at the present time is geared to the winning over of Germany himself. He is well aware of the great value of the trump card which Germany represents in his fight against the Allies. It should be added that he has many convinced supporters in all German circles. Some of them have won over through

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ideological convictions, others through the distress provoked by Allied bombings, and others who hope to work out a Bismarckian policy and salvage Germany through a Russian alliance.

Stalin, with his cunning, knows how to exploit all these sentiments for his own ends. It is for this reason that the Allies are compelled to dispute territories with Stalin in Germany itself.

But there are also many other elements in Germany who wish to come to an understanding with the democracies for the organization of Europe on a just basis. These Germans must be sought out. They must be helped by every means to organize themselves. With a just understanding of the expectations and desires of these circles one can win over the whole people to the common cause. With regard to the liquidation of the last vestiges of the Nazi movement, this must be left to these German elements. They will accomplish the task much better than the Allied Military Government.

We are acquainted with some of these German personalities. With their help we were able to maintain ourselves in Berlin, carrying on a definite opposition to the nefarious Nazi policy in the question of the Eastern European Nationalities. Attached to this memorandum is a list of persons with whom we were in regular contact in Germany. These individuals can in turn complete the list with quantities of other names more important than their own.

Once this first important factor in Europe, namely Germany, has been won for the cause, other European problems will have to be tackled. The peoples of Western Europe must be satisfied and won over to the anti-Stalinist block, and the most important of these is France. Once the German and Western European problems have been settled, the Balkan countries will go along with the Anglo-Saxons as well as the great majority of the Poles who wish neither Russian domination nor communism.

With regard to the people of Eastern Europe including non-Russians in the USSR who number 90 millions, the Baltic states, White Ruthenia, the Ukraine, the Caucasus, Turkestan, Volga-Tatar, and the Tatar people of the Crimea for whom I and my friends were the spokesmen in Berlin; their organization and direction will be simple. These people all want to separate from Russia and establish the independence of their countries. It was for this reason for that matter that the sons of these people ever since the outbreak of the Russo-German war deserted in masses from the Red Army and came to Germany to demand arms and volunteer in the German army. It was only the cruel treatment of the Nazis for these prisoners volunteers, and the nefarious German policy toward these nationals which provoked their mass desertion and developed a vigorous anti-Nazi opposition among those who remained until the end in German units and the National Legion. This great mass of men consisting of several hundreds of thousands cannot of course be organized on a policy based on a concept of the "sub-human" out of the East, but with a democratic policy of Liberty and the self determination of peoples.

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The first thing to be done in this direction is to prevent at once all the Caucasians and other non-Russian people who have fallen into the hands of the Western Allies as prisoners, refugees or deported workers from being returned to the Russians. Naturally many among these men believe in the victory of Stalin, and would like to create an alibi in order to regain his favor and thus save their lives. But this effort will avail them little, since once Stalin has made use of them he will eliminate them not because they have fought against him, but because they have seen too much of European life.

It is necessary therefore, to save these men, but if it is unfortunately not possible under present conditions, then we must save at least the Elite and save them until tomorrow. For this reason we ask that we may be permitted to return to Germany, with the necessary papers, and accompanied by American officers, also to Northern Italy and Denmark in order to seek out first of all the National Committees who have led these people, and also the elite and any others who can be saved. We must of course also seek out all our German friends mentioned above. In this connection, Prof. Von Mende who is at present at Buhler will be a helpful collaborator, an old friend of ours a decided anti-Nazi and a European of the best type, with whom among others we would be able to set up the necessary apparatus.

It would also be useful if I could be permitted to establish as soon as possible contact with my friends in Turkey with whom we worked for three years.

To summarize, I would be grateful if you would transmit to your government or whoever is concerned our fears of Stalin's policy, which can only be fought by an equally energetic policy and the organization of anti-Bolshevik and anti-Russian forces and not merely by diplomatic dealings.

I hope that our apprehensions and fears for the policies and person of Stalin will be received by you with more understanding than they were by the Nazi government of the Herrvolk who thought they understood everything better than us poor "sub-humans" from the East.

Signed.

M. KEDIA.

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